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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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ATTACHMENT C

Circular No. 4

Comrades:

The schismatic group of the Party each day accentuates more its ominous action. Through the coarsest lies and most hateful slanders they are attempting to disorient the comrades and to prevent the latter from knowing the truth and the historical scope of the political problem which I have had to state to the Party. Through systematic threats of sanctions they are attempting to terrorize the comrades and see to it that they are unable to make known their political thought freely and democratically through the natural organ of discussion: the Group.

Allow me, then, to establish the following facts:

First: The Secretary General occupies that position for the entire Party and not merely for some emigre groups.

The basic nucleus of the Party is found in Catalonia itself. The thousands and thousands of comrades who fight and suffer under the Franco-Falangist terrorism cannot meet, or discuss, or become informed, and their collective opinion on important problems of the Party will only be known when we have liberated the country. The thousands and thousands of comrades of the interior keep alive the flame of the Party which together we lit and for which so many heroes have given their blood and their lives: the Party which has been and is the most valuable achievement of the proletariat and of the people of Catalonia, the first and only realization of the workers' political unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist principles, in the capitalistic world; the Party which has merited the honor of being recognized as the Catalan Section of the Communist International ***.

The comrades who are in exile cannot forget that and must not forget it. They do not have nor can they have the right to resolve, ignoring the basic nucleus of the interior, such an important problem as that of liquidating the Party. The Secretary General has not accepted it nor will he ever accept it, no matter how violent and slanderous the actions and maneuvers of the schismatic group, whose members *** have forgotten the basic instruction of the Central Committee of Ambers: "The PSUC will not be a Party of the emigration; it is and will always be a Party of combatants."

To the Secretary General an independent Party was entrusted equal in rights, by order of the Communist International, to all the Communist Parties and with a concrete historic mission which we will realize in spite of everything. And neither the Secretary General nor anyone else has the right to alienate, to deform, to change the character and historic mission of the Party ***.

The day will come when the Party, reunited in a congress, will listen to all of us and will ask an accounting of all of us. And it is before the Party reunited in congress that I will give an account of my long and laborious effort, and the verdict of the congress I shall accept without reservation.

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Second: With the intention of distracting the militants from the principal problem which I stated within the Party, much is being said, directly and by innuendo, of Titoism, of Trotskyism, of the fight against the Communist Party of Spain and against the international workers' movement, of bourgeois or petty bourgeois nationalism, etc., etc.

With these elements a smoke screen is being thrown up to hide the truth from the Party. I ask the militants to force the slanderers to show ** any proof or shadow of proof, and if necessary I shall demand it, since my honor as a militant and revolutionary leader cannot allow me to be besmirched or maltreated by a junta of emigres which forms a schismatic group.

Third: It is said that the Secretary General does not have the powers which are invoked in the decision of 29 August "since the organisms which conferred them upon him have ceased to exist." To this argument I reply: When at the end of 1945 I chose them to form, with me, the nucleus of direction called the Secretariat, already the organisms which gave me the right and the order to do it "had ceased to exist" i.e., the last Executive Committee of the Communist International. Consequently, since 9 June 1943, the date on which the Communist International dissolved itself, the General Secretariat of the Party has "lost" its rights and powers, and everything that it has been doing since then until now has been arbitrary and authoritarian, including the selection of the comrades who now, without being able to invoke any right, have constituted themselves the "majority" group "of direction of the Party" suppressing in fact and rigorously the Central Committee. Suffice it to say that this "argument" is characteristic of quibblers and not of militant communists.

Fourth: It is said that the Secretary General was unwilling to arbitrate and that he "attempted a coup d'etat." It is a lie; for more than two months I talked for whole days with comrades of the former directorate to remind them that because of the seriousness of the situation and its constant worsening I believed that it was absolutely necessary to have a meeting of the group which together with me formed the Secretariat - MOIX, VIDIRILLA and COLOMER - in order to discuss the problems thoroughly and to find a just solution through mutual agreement. I insisted on this until the last moment, until the very day of 31 August when they committed the crime of seizing Lluïta, but I did not succeed. I asked insistently why, without discussion and without warning, they had burned the Catalan edition of the Communist Manifesto which was to be sent to the militants of the interior ***. I asked why they permitted the shameful campaign of Lluïta directed openly against the Secretary General and the Party, against the character and historic mission of the Party, raising old ghosts with false statements and coarse historic defamations. In no case was I able to obtain a satisfactory explanation. Unfortunately, however, the liquidating machinery of the Party was in motion and I was not able to stop it nor to sidetrack it. There remained no other solution for me, then, but to take the measures that were necessary and to tell the Party the truth. And this I did. And this is the famous coup d'etat, against which the six liquidation promoters of the schismatic group had plotted a real "uprising." To make it clearer, I recommend that our militants review the texts of Lenin and Stalin which speak of opportunists and provocateurs.

Fifth: The militants who honorably maintain a political opinion favorable to the Party and to the Directorate are threatened with sanctions and expulsions.

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The militants should not cease to act jointly and should know that the decisions of a group which without any right takes upon itself the direction of the Party are and always will be invalid and worthless.

There is a conspiracy to push through resolutions which are unjust and harmful to the Party. I ask the militants not to allow themselves to be led along this road; I ask that they demand documents transmitted through the regular channels of the Party; that they read and discuss them calmly and objectively. It is not a matter, dear comrades, of form, method or procedure, whether the Secretary General is or is not intemperate. It is the basic question of the life of the Party.

Comrades, let us save the PSUC, the only Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Party of the working class of Catalonia!

For the Central Committee of the PSUC

Signed and Sealed: J. COMORERA
Secretary General

Paris, 9 September 1949

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